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Kohl and Reagan talk about Reykjavik and afterwards

STANZEGARTER MEETING

Helmut Kohl ended his first full term as Chancellor just as he began in Bonn by paying President Reagan a visit.

His latest visit, like his first as Chancellor in November 1982, dealt mainly with armament issues. But missile modernisation has given way to disarmament.

This switch of emphasis was due in part to the Reykjavik summit and the twofold surprise President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov sprung on the world.

While presenting disarmament concepts on a scale no-one had previously imagined as being conceivable they demonstrated inability to put into practice what they had outlined in such meetings.

Careful scrutiny of official comments on Reykjavik in Bonn revealed something of a sigh of relief. As a leading foreign policy expert put it:

"The trouble with summit meetings is that they sometimes fail to take the de-

cision that is needed to put it, a case of the Chancellor being briefed by his master's voice."

After the Reykjavik mini-summit the Chancellor gained an opportunity of learning at first hand what the President had learnt in 11 hours of talks with the Soviet leader.

It was, as a senior Bonn official some-

what respectfully put it, a case of the Chancellor being briefed by his mas-

ter's voice."

Herr Kohl was America's first ally to

confer with President Reagan after Reykjavik, but he had a full week in which to ponder over the critical points in the agreement the superpowers nearly reached.

Bonn government officials feel the

terms almost agreed would have a con-

fusion. Moscow 'created' by promptly refuting the statement made by the chief Soviet delegate at Geneva, Mr Karpov, in Bonn in July.

Mr Karpov told an audience of government officials and pressmen there was no linkage between a medium-range missile agreement and US agreement to scrap SDI.

In Moscow this linkage was then promptly reaffirmed. Bonn feels the Soviet Union sees the need for such linkage on strategic weapons but sees no need for it to be an all-or-nothing viewpoint.

The latest consultations between Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan in Washington was the seventh time the two leaders had conferred. It assumed much greater importance than originally envisaged.

It was initially planned as a means of presenting to the President Bonn's views on a possible Reagan-Gorbachov summit.

This view is clearly shared in London and Paris. Mrs Thatcher assured the Chancellor on the eve of his flight to Washington that he could definitely speak in her name too.

She and President Mitterrand had been fully agreed in their assessment of the situation at their London talks.

In principle the Bonn government sides with Washington in refusing to approve arms agreements in return for the scrapping of SDI.

But German officials are dissatisfied with the superpowers for having failed to agree to confer on their difficulties of interpretation, as proposed by Bonn.

SDI, Bonn has long felt, must be an aim in itself. It must make disarma-



Wet welcome for Nepalese monarch

King Birendra of Nepal (second from left) and President von Weizsäcker are sheltered by umbrellas during an official military welcome in Bonn.

considerable effect on security interests of the Federal Republic and its partners.

This view is clearly shared in London and Paris. Mrs Thatcher assured the Chancellor on the eve of his flight to Washington that he could definitely speak in her name too.

In other words, the US President is expected not to knuckle under to the blandishments of hawkish advisers if there is any real chance of agreement.

Bonn's main concern remains the withdrawal of medium-range missiles. The prospect of their total withdrawal from Europe, as envisaged in Reykjavik, came as a surprise.

It is also noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate on shorter-range missiles (with a range of up to 500km), of which the West has none, whereas the Russians have 600.

Bonn is likewise pleased to note that Moscow is prepared to reduce the number of missiles with a range of up to 1,000km allegedly stationed by the Soviet Union in response to the West's missile modernisation.

Bonn is worried not only by the possibility that these fine hopes for the future might vanish into thin air.

It is also worried, first and foremost, that prospective missile agreements might bring about changes in the European security situation to the grave disadvantage of the Federal Republic and of Western Europe.

If all agreements proposed were to be signed, Soviet conventional superiority would come fully into its own.

One response could be to boost conventional armament in the wake of nuclear disarmament. Bonn, and other Western governments tend to favour an alternative solution: including conventional armament in overall disarmament talks.

Both the MBFR group cut talks in Vienna and the forthcoming Helsinki

Pragmatism is the crucial rule in intra-German politics

It is 15 years since the Four-Power Berlin Agreement was signed between the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. It is still in force.

tated consequences of decisions into account."

So, the Kohl government was far from unhappy at the failure to reach agreement in Reykjavik or, as Bonn officials put it:

"The talking was brought to a halt at just the right time in Reykjavik. Time is now needed to reappraise it all and strike balance."

The major phase of alliance consultations is now in the offing, as Bonn sees it. In other words, Bonn is working on the assumption that further negotiations will be held at all disarmament conferences.

Results are felt to be possible despite

the West. It must also ensure predictability as far as the East is concerned.

It would equally be lost if it were to forfeit the will to end the division of Germany, a resolve that formed part of the intellectual bedrock of the Federal Republic.

The Federal Republic of Germany was set up as the foundation of a democratic Germany, which it still is. Its values include values shared with the West, alliance ties with the West, European integration and the hope that the division of Germany will not be forever.

The German Question has not been on the agenda of East-West conferences since 1959. The 1971 Four-Power Berlin Agreement and the 1972 Basic Treaty with the GDR have meant that Deutschlandpolitik must dispense with confidence, first and foremost in

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Question over Middle East as Israel changes its Prime Minister

Shimon Peres has stepped down as Prime Minister and moved to the Foreign Ministry, handing over as head of government to Yitzhak Shamir, previously Foreign Minister.

The change-over is initially no more than a change in Israel's outward appearance. The new government is in principle the same as the old, with its policy unchanged at mid-term.

Yet the world is taking a new and warier look at Israel. Is the reshuffle not bound to bring about change in the Middle East? Can it fail to have an effect on peace?

Outwardly the Middle East is at peace, more so than economics such as Spain with its Basque problem, nor to mention Northern Ireland.

Europe is a whole may live at peace, yet peace in Europe has neither been established nor sanctioned by a peace treaty.

Why, Israels ask, ought they to be in greater haste with their peace treaty or to have better luck with it than European diplomats with theirs?

Yet Europe has increasingly come to rest with its quasi-state of peace, whereas the Middle East has remained in a state of unpredictability. Pressure for change is growing rather than easing off.

Israel's victory in the 1967 war made neighbouring Palesline less of a military threat. Hostile forces were no longer poised a mere 18 km (11 miles) from the Mediterranean.

But Israel's war gains have plunged the country into a dilemma that will not simply resolve itself if left to its own devices, as might be said of Europe's post-war borders.

Israel faces an impossible choice and does so more urgently by the year, due less to Arab policy outside the country than to the demographic time-bomb within.

Is it to shape its own future in South Africa's image or is it to settle for a political, in other words territorial, arrange-



ment by which pre-1967 conditions might well recur?

Mr Peres seeks Arab partners in a third option, that of a vague domestic autonomy for Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank under Israel's protection but not, he suggests, necessarily Israel's alone.

That would not quite amount to a territorial solution and thus is in principle nothing new.

Likud Premier Shamir will see no real need for a change of course because Mr Peres has not in principle embarked on a change of course.

Qualitative, territorial change would only occur, and then only gradually, once Arab partners and protecting powers shared responsibility for Palestinian autonomy.

The road to a generally accepted Palestinian representation capable of negotiating at a peace conference with Israel is still clogged in fog after a few yards.

At the fifth focal point, in Damascus, forces are gathering that are intent on preventing a settlement of any kind.

Mr Peres agreed in Alexandria to the Arab call for an international conference in a bid to clinch the support of sleeping partner Jordan. King Hussein will not play ball unless a conference is held.

Recalling what happened to Presi-

dent Sadat of Egypt, he has no intent of openly entering into bilateral negotiations. Unlike the assassinated Egyptian leader, he has no such incentive as Israeli-occupied Sinai.

King Hussein could not expect to gain the West Bank either so clearly so soon as Egypt has regained Sinai.

He has never wanted the Gaza Strip and as for the fundamental problem of Jerusalem, it could only be discussed at a later stage.

Yet growing political extremism in the West Bank is a time-bomb for King Hussein too. He does not have time at his disposal either.

This is a bridge Hussein and friend might one day cross and meet each other half-way. So the international conference, a proposal of which itself by no means co-ordinated, is basically more than a pretext for parties willing to co-operate in any case.

King Hussein has held many lengthy confidential talks with Israel. Theirs have to talk over 500 hours, according to a leak printed by an Israeli newspaper.

This being so, and with an eye to his coalition partners in Israel and his allies in Washington, Mr Peres chose in his final speech as Prime Minister to repeat that the international conference was intended merely as a solemn start to peace talks that must be continued bilaterally and on a smaller scale.

This cannot be seen as an incentive for those who have no desire to talk at present. They insist on Israel's peace preparedness amounting to more than mere readiness to invite others to attend a conference.

Bernhard Heinrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 October 1986)

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means of coping with division, as far as that is possible, rather than of ending it.

No-one knows here and now how the European peace order twice mentioned in the Note on German Unity, appended to the Moscow Treaty in 1970 and to the Basic Treaty in 1972, is to be put into practice.

The note modified both treaties and brought them into line with constitutional provisions in the Federal Republic of Germany. But the question is not disqualifying, merely because no-one knows the answer.

Can Deutschlandpolitik help to establish order above and beyond the deterrent? This question opens up still more far-reaching perspectives.

It also indicates the scope of Deutschlandpolitik, which encompasses experience of political pragmatism the like of which is not so readily gained elsewhere in the world.

Deutschlandpolitik has succeeded in at least setting legal limits to power clashes and ideological conflicts.

The Federal Republic has transformed economic power into political clout at the conference table. Environmental issues have, tentatively perhaps, been raised in a manner that transcends state-of-the-nation report.

It is the vision of a European peace order and the endeavour to gain the confidence of Germany's neighbours in a plan for the future that legitimates the Federal Republic on the basis of both German history and Europe's future.

The other German state undeniably exists and is not lacking in efficacy, regardless on what basis. But what it lacks is legitimization by its citizens' free approval.

There is another reason why the GDR cannot be accepted. It has to do with the SED, the East German Communist Party.

From Walter Ulbricht's 1947 slogan "Forward to a Socialist Germany" to Erich Honecker, the present East Ger-

man leader, the Communists have been intent on gaining control of all Germany.

This aim is currently apparent in the comprehensive claim the GDR lays to German history. Politically it has never been in abeyance, as shown by a point the SED leader made in 1981.

Once the working class set about the socialist transformation of the Federal Republic of Germany, Herr Honecker said, the issue of German reunification would be posed anew.

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Populist line pays off for fledgling Bavarian party

The Republican Party (REP), which campaigned on a series of right-wing populist issues such as controlling immigration and punishing drug traffickers, won more than three percent of the vote in the Bavarian state assembly elections this month. Here, Peter Schönhuber, editor-in-chief of the *Abendzeitung*.

At that time, his wife Ingrid was an SPD city councillor.

Schönhuber became a deputy TV editor-in-chief and presented the popular TV discussion programme *Jetzt red'l* (Now it's my turn to speak), which was broadcast from Bavarian Inns.

In the transmission area of the Bavarian TV station Schönhuber is almost as popular as the Bavarian father figure Franz-Josef Strauss.

Politically, Schönhuber has moved from the left through the centre and to the right.

He soon became a good friend of Franz-Josef Strauss and a member of the exclusive "Franz-Club", a circle of the supporters of Bavarian Premier Strauss.

Schönhuber was hoping to make a career in TV administration.

The publication of a book called *Ich war dabei* (I was there), in which he openly described his personal experience as a member of the Waffen-SS, put an end to these ambitions.

In the whirl of events which followed Schönhuber was dismissed from the Bavarian TV station.

Together with the clear defeat of the SPD the success of the REP was the big sensation.

The REP's general secretary, Harald Neubauer, very much in his party's performance, claimed that "if we had been able to carry Franz Schönhuber from one village to the next we would have achieved something even the Greens didn't manage at first go."

Former NPD member Neubauer is convinced that the REP would have then got the five percent of the vote needed to move into the Bavarian Landtag.

As Schönhuber is a unique personality, however, and as there are thousands of Bavarian villages the leading candidate of the REP had to make do with appearances in key areas.

It was a result which has shattered more hopes than party leaders care to admit. It is still not clear what the SPD's next step is.

Both the public and the party had doubts right from the start about the proclaimed objective set by their candidate for Chancellor, Johannes Rau: an absolute majority.

No-one really believes that Rau stands a chance of out-and-out victory in Bonn.

But if Rau does back down from his strategy now, he would lose face.

His previous dissociation from the Greens has been no more than logically consistent.

Even considering the possibility of an SPD-Greens coalition would be tantamount to a pre-election admission of defeat.

At the same time, Rau would only encourage the supporters of such a coalition within his party.

Following the Bavarian elections the Bonn government coalition parties are going to find it easier anyway to strengthen suspicions that the SPD would, if given the chance, join forces with the Greens in Bonn despite Rau's declarations to the contrary.

By demanding that the Shadow Chancellor should change his strategy and show greater flexibility on the question of a Red-Green coalition the Young Socialists have already increased such suspicions.

But the result in Bavaria has dampened those hopes too.

Rau's decision to stick to his aim of an SPD majority is more than defiant under these circumstances.

A self-comforting conclusion that the setback in Bavaria was the result of the fact that anyone who simply campaigns for a reasonable social place

With no financial worries he decided to become a politician and set up the Republican Party with two rebel CSU parliamentarians, Handlos and Voigt.

He soon fell out with them both, however, and they left the party.

Today, Schönhuber feels that this decision was correct. "This party would never have been able to develop a clear-cut image with Handlos," he claimed. "He doesn't even regard himself as conservative nowadays."

Schönhuber cleverly presented a mixture of his own popularity and populist right-wing election issues.

Wherever he went during the election campaign the inns or beer tents were full.

The crowd clapped as he called for summary court magistrates on West German borders to control the flow of asylum applicants or for a maximum penalty of life imprisonment for drug dealers.

He describes his party as "national but not nationalist."

He denies any links with the (now Nazi) NPD and announced that legal steps would be taken after he was called *Schickelgruber* (in reference to Hitler) three times during a TV discussion.

After his party's success in Bavaria he now faces the question whether he should run in the general election.

The pressure of the party's rank-and-file members to do so is enormous," says Schönhuber.

He himself, however, doesn't want to make a decision in the initial euphoria of success in Bavaria and has asked for two weeks to think things over.

He knows that his popularity is mainly limited to Bavaria and that a nationwide campaign would be much more difficult.



Franz Schönhuber. (Photo: dpa)

However, according to the party chairman there are already offers from other organisations and parties for an alliance, although no names are mentioned.

Schönhuber also claims that 100 people became new members of the REP on polling day evening and that the party now has just under 4,000 members, mostly young people including many students.

Schönhuber is playing with fire, since although he doesn't stand a chance of getting into the Bundestag the CDU/CSU could lose the vital votes of many disappointed exile groups if he decides to run in the general election.

This might then make the election on 25 January a cliff-hanger after all.

But how high is the price of not running in this election, for which according to Schönhuber, he already has DM4 in his disposal?

Peter Schmitz

(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 October 1986)

Election shock leaves SPD morale in tatters

and not for victory cannot be a winner could rebound in the general election campaign.

No-one really believes that Rau stands a chance of out-and-out victory in Bonn.

But if Rau does back down from his strategy now, he would lose face.

His previous dissociation from the Greens has been no more than logically consistent.

The SPD is finding increasingly difficult to present itself as a serious challenge to this self-confident government, which has a number of successful economic policy achievements on its side.

The SPD has also been unable to turn apparently popular campaign issues, such as the gradual phasing out of nuclear energy, to its own advantage.

The statement by party chairman, Willy Brandt, following the Bavarian elections that the SPD's energy policy had not been properly understood almost sounds like an admission of a strategic error.

It is difficult for Opposition parties to win over voters in the field of such awkward topics.

The SPD experienced this problem in a different way when it campaigned against missile deployment in the 1983 general election.

As a member of the SPD pre-assembly, Peter Olotz, pointed out: "No-one votes for a Cassandra figure".

This is why the SPD now wants to

Continued on page 8

■ PERSPECTIVE

Curtain opened on Warsaw Pact War Games Show — and revealed as little as possible

On 11 August the German embassy in Prague was notified that Warsaw Pact manoeuvres were to be held in Czechoslovakia.

Czech, Soviet and Hungarian units were to take part in ground and air exercises.

The manoeuvres, code-named Družba '86, were to be held in Bohemia. Up to two observers from the Federal Republic of Germany would be welcome.

This surprise invitation came 11 years after the signing of the Helsinki accords and seven years after the last time a West German observer had been allowed to monitor Warsaw Pact manoeuvres.

Was the spirit of Helsinki to be resurrected after such a long break? The solemn undertakings on confidence-building measures given in the Finnish capital by the 35 CSCE states in 1975 had almost been forgotten.

On 11 September the German ambassador, Peter Metzger, and his military attaché, Lt-Col Jürgen Kewitsch, eagerly boarded a bus that took them to a platform provided for manoeuvre observers.

The report they sent to Bonn did not give the impression that they had understood the purpose of the exercise.

They were given a printed programme including afternoon and evening welfare arrangements. A 1:500,000 map of the manoeuvre area was also provided.

But they were unable to make contact with the troops, they complained. For

Frankfurter Rundschau

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■ FINANCE

Banks criticised over Mexican debt package

Rescheduling of Mexico's foreign debts was to have been a highlight of the Washington annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund.

But negotiations between creditor banks and the Mexican government faltered and the king-sized agreement that was to cover most of Mexico's foreign debts was threatened with last-minute failure.

It took the joint efforts of US Treasury Secretary James Baker, the Federal Reserve Bank's Paul Volcker and IMF director Jacques de la Rosière to get the banks and the Mexican government to agree to interest rates, guarantees, modes of payment and other terms.

The volume of the agreement readily explains why it took so long to negotiate package terms. Mexico has foreign debts totalling \$98bn, making it second only to Brazil, the most heavily indebted country in Latin America.

Between now and next year Mexico is to be granted new loans totalling \$12bn, half being lent by the commercial banks that are owed money by Mexico.

The other half will be funded by the World Bank, the IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank and the group of creditor-states known as the Paris Club.

So Mexico's foreign debts will increase to \$110bn by the end of 1987.

Outstanding loans totalling \$52.3bn are to be rescheduled, with a repayment period of 20 years.

For the first seven years capital repayments will be waived, only interest payments being due.

The banks were as reluctant to agree to interest terms as they were on bridging loans. They will earn a mere thirteen sixteenths of a per cent on Mexico's rescheduled loans and on the extra \$6bn they have agreed to raise.

That is the premium Mexico is to pay over and above the inter-bank rate (the rate at which banks lend each other cash in international business).

With the inter-bank rate currently at 6 1/8 per cent, Mexico now stands to pay 6 15/16 per cent.

The odd sixteenth of a per cent may not seem much, but in Mexico's case it means \$36m a year more or less for the creditor banks.

By the terms of the rescheduling agreement the banks have also promised Mexico a contingency loan of over \$1.5bn if its economy takes a turn for the worse.

So, it is hardly surprising that the banks' jubilation is decidedly subdued.

Thirteen banks negotiated terms on behalf of many more who are owed money by Mexico. They will need to work hard to persuade the necessary 90 per cent of creditors to agree to the terms negotiated.

Debt managers are at their wits' end, as was shown by Deutsche Bank chief executive F. Wilhelm Christians' comment in Washington that the way debt problems were handled, generally speaking, was hardly to the banks' credit.

They had had four years in which to arrive at a longer-term solution to the debt problem but had yet to succeed in doing so, he complained.

"The therapy the banks have prescribed has yet to have the desired effect. The

debt crisis came to a head in 1982 when Mexico, Poland and a growing number of states announced they were no longer able to keep up their debt funding.

They had overextended their resources and imported too much foreign money in relation to their economic potential and export opportunities. Their loans were bills drawn on the future, and suddenly they were unable to meet their commitments.

The banks reacted to the insolvency of entire states in much the same way they would do in ordinary circumstances — by playing for time, hoping the debtor will recover and deferring payments due.

But this approach did not help for long, and the banks soon realised that their loans to developing and threshold countries were, not just the debtors' problem, but also a problem for the banks themselves.

You can't foreclose on any entire country and sell its assets like you can enforce the sale of a company or a house.

The banks had no choice but to lend the debtor countries more money, in most cases solely to ensure they were in position to service existing debts. In other words, they threw good money after bad.

They didn't always do this as a gesture of goodwill toward the hard-hit debtor countries. Fresh loans were often agreed to bail out major creditors, especially US banks.

American banks have to write off in total any loan for which interest or capital repayments are overdue by more than 90 days. That would have meant insolvency for most leading US banks.

Many have lent Latin American countries more than twice or three times their paid-up capital. If a country so heavily indebted as Mexico were to exceed this deadline American banks would have to write off so much capital that they cannot afford to do so.

European Community interests are clearly affected. Higher prices may suit European manufacturers but they cannot be to the liking of consumers.

Besides, the agreement runs counter to a recent European Community decision to reduce from 17 to 14 per cent tariffs on imported semiconductors.

As a result the leading commercial banks have lent their main debtors an extra \$33bn over the past three years, not including the latest loans to Mexico.

After four years of debt crisis the banks are now negotiating rescheduling loans and on the extra \$6bn they have agreed to raise.

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With the inter-bank rate currently at 6 1/8 per cent, Mexico now stands to pay 6 15/16 per cent.

The odd sixteenth of a per cent may not seem much, but in Mexico's case it means \$36m a year more or less for the creditor banks.

Over the next 20 years Mexico will have to repay not \$98bn but \$110bn, and if it is to repay its debts in full one may well wonder whether, when the first repayments on capital are due, in five or seven years' time, the country will fare better with debts totalling \$110bn than with its present \$98bn.

Recent trends make that seem unlikely. What the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America need to make ends meet is fewer debts, not more.

After four years of debt crisis the banks seem to be at the end of their depth in trying to arrive at a solution to the problem.

"Just tell me why," the barman at the Sheraton asked a debt manager in Washington for the IWF meeting, "you are lending the developing countries more and more money when you well know you are never going to get it back?"

"The banker could only smile wanly." (Berthold Blohm, Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 October 1986)

Higher prices boost Japanese manu-

facturers' profits most, with the result that they earn the extra money they need to finance further expansion.

In the long run more and more resources are needed by way of intervention.

Yet the United States is urging Japan in particular to come to terms in individual markets. The Japanese are playing ball, and not just so as to steer clear of criticism.

The European Community is also worried about the possibility of US restrictions on machine tool imports. Arguments of safety and the need to maintain domestic production are being put forward now that US manufacturers are no longer able to hold their own in certain sectors.

The semiconductor agreement is particularly poignant in that Tokyo used to argue, in connection with the low level of Japanese imports of finished goods, that it was both unable and unwilling to intervene in trade.

Yet export price controls are now envisaged, and that is a tall order despite the prompt rejoinder that Europe's Common Agricultural Policy is not exactly blameless in this respect.

Negotiations on a reform of world trade are due to begin in Geneva on 27 October with a session of the trade talk committee. Gatt member-countries agreed to set up at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in mid-September.

Purists may say that the semiconductor lapse occurred only shortly before-hand and need not contradict the general agreement to dispense with protectionist measures.

That might even be true, but the prevailing atmosphere is what counts, and it simply isn't right.

Albert Fink's office has absolutely nothing in common with the usual idea of a bank manager's elegant refuge.

It is rather cramped and humble for the chief representative of a financial institution and bears more resemblance to a children's room in a state-subsidised flat.

In fact, there is not a single safe in the whole bank.

"We haven't got any money here," bank manager Fink admits to the rather dumbfounded visitors.

"New ideas were needed to finance the foundation of a Waldorf school in Bochum.

Alfred and Friederike Rexroth, who previously ran an iron and steel works in Lohr am Main, provided a substantial sum of several million D-marks as a financial basis for the setting up of a bank.

In Fink's words the GLS views itself as a "bank run by anthroposophists, but not just for anthroposophists."

As a rule, funds are made available for all projects which set out to overcome the artificial differentiation between labour, culture and social commitment and promote the idea of an autonomous and liberated individual.

These projects may range from new forms of business in industry, commerce or agriculture to initiatives in the field of research or art or the organisation of children's nurseries, schools, hospitals and other social institutions.

The new "technique of brotherliness" has blurred the dividing line between loans and gifts.

The GLS bank is the key financial institution of the anthroposophic movement in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The movement seeks to establish new forms of "associative business management" geared to human fulfilment and a search for meaning in life in line with the teachings of the movement's founder, Rudolf Steiner.

This includes a "technique of brotherliness" in dealings with money.

Rudolf Steiner's answer to the capitalist creed immortalised in the lyrics "Money makes the world go around" was his "primary social law".

The anthroposophic movement of the man who died in 1925 in Dornach, near Basle became famous via the Free Waldorf schools and nurseries.

The movement's overriding social law runs as follows: "The well-being of a community of people who work together is all the greater the less each individual lays claim to the fruits of his labour, i.e. the more of these fruits he gives to his fellow workers and the more his own needs are satisfied by the fruits of the labour of others and not by his own."

Translated into the reality of the alternative banking business of the 1980s this guiding motto reads as follows in the annual report of the GLS bank: "To replace a banking business based on material assets by one based on human trust; to give a human dimension to every loan and every gift; to replace abstract financial transactions by concrete and collective business management."

A visit to the unobtrusive office building opposite the Bochum theatre gives an idea of what this means.

The highly imaginative financing models created by the GLS bank together with the Gemeinnützige Kredit-Garantiegenossenschaft (GKG) and the non-profit trust agency since the GLS bank was set up in 1974 can definitely be called social art.

■ FINANCE

Semiconductor deal another blow to free-trade ideal

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One man gave a personal loan of DM50,000 from his savings account to a school which wanted to build a new room for theatre and music performances, charging an interest rate of only two per cent on the loan.

In the case of charitable projects in-

terest payments are often dropped altogether.

As the GLS bank normally only provides loans of up to DM200,000 many people often form lending syndicates whose members act as guarantors for each other.

The senior citizens' interest group *Grüne Panther* (Grey Panthers) in Wuppertal, for example, needed DM300,000 to buy a building for a senior citizens' centre.

One hundred individuals were granted a loan of DM3,000 by the bank and the problem was solved.

The loan and gift syndicates provide a particularly sophisticated financing model.

A Waldorf school, for example, wanted to build a gymnasium, but they needed DM100,000. One hundred parents were willing to give this sum of money to the school during the next four years.

In order to raise the money immediately each party received a loan of DM1,000 from the GLS bank and gave this to the school.

The compulsory membership in the emergency fund of the cooperative banks, which provides a guarantee in case of bankruptcy à la Herstatt, is a thorn in the flesh of the cooperative bankers.

Hindrance

The GLS bank regards this obligation as a curtailment of its freedom and is currently considering means of diversifying risks in order to be able to opt out of the fund with the approval of the Banking Supervisory Office.

As GLS manager Fink points out: "The whole thing will depend on whether savers want to have their deposits safeguarded in any other bank or whether they are willing to accept a certain risk."

Just lending and providing gifts is not enough for the bank: it also sponsors new forms of living and working together.

Shares in bio-dynamic farms, for example, are offered via the trust agency.

The basic idea is that land is not a commodity and is not therefore heritable.

The shareholders join together in agricultural cooperatives and lease out the land to a farming family for as long as they live.

Members of the cooperatives are also allowed to work on the farms and what is probably more important, to carry out educational and social youth projects there.

At present, 21 farms are being run on this basis in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Not all individuals or groups seeking sources of finance for allegedly alternative projects satisfy the strict qualification criteria of the GLS bank in Bochum.

Bagwan followers, monks from a Buddhist centre and a left-wing ecological group which wanted to buy Nicaraguan coffee were turned away.

Fink explains why: "Our orientation is towards the human being as an individual. Many of those who come to us and talk of a new human being in reality want to force human beings into a new system."

It is hardly surprising that the GLS bank is viewed misguidedly by both right-wing and left-wing groups.

"Conservative groups think that we're Greens," says Fink, "and left-wing groups feel that we're too conventional."

Hans-Ulrich Jörge

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 October 1986)

■ BUSINESS

Retired businessmen pass on know-how to up-and-coming entrepreneurs

Retired businessmen have joined forces all over Germany since the late-1970s to advise young people and beginners free of charge on how best to set up in business.

Armin Albrecht is one of thousands who have jumped at the opportunity. Last year he opened a Munich city-centre gift shop specialising in nautical items from north Germany.

A wooden ship's figurehead nearly one metre tall is the eye-catching centrepiece of his shop on Isartorplatz in the heart of Munich. Other nauticala on sale include bull's eyes, ships in bottles, nets and foghorns.

He felt sure his was a promising new idea in upcountry Bavaria but was keen to make sure of all the advice he could come by before setting up in business.

He had difficulty in finding suitable premises. He was keen to advertise effectively but inexpensively. His queries were unanswered, but by neither the banks nor the local authorities he consulted.

Crucial advice was given by a group of retired Munich businesspeople with the cumbersome name Senior Citizens Help Young Businessmen.

It and groups like it have sprung up nearly all over the Federal Republic (one notable exception, oddly enough, is Stuttgart), and in September a national association was set up in Bonn.

It represents groups in eight cities. Its spokesman, and business manager is

Horst-Peter Oltmanns, who was previously associated with similar work by senior citizens in the developing world.

Asked what the movement's aims are, he 'digs deep into history, explaining that the Ancient Romans dedicated the last quarter of their lives to public service.

Psychological support is most important, agrees Rolf Hecker, business manager of a Cologne group. Many newcomers are reluctant to trouble professional consultants with queries they feel are elementary, as Sherlock Holmes used to say to Dr Watson.

They have no such qualms about asking older people, says journalist Fides Krause-Brewer, who is a keen supporter of the movement.

Senior citizens have one major advantage over professional or institutional advisers. They have the time to spare to deal at length with each case.

There is seldom only one consultation. Up to five is the rule, says Wilhelm Brünig of the Hanover group. And sometimes contacts extend over months or even years.

Know-how is available on virtually every problem in the book. The retired businessmen who help beginners as a hobby were bakers and bankers, mar-

kers and specialists and mechanical engineers.

They were all either self-employed or in senior management. So the beginners they advise stand to benefit from a further advantage. Senior citizens often still have both the know-how and the connections.

Theo Linden, a former master-craftsman in the production department at Nixdorf, the computer firm, dealt in great detail with the entrepreneurial idea of an electrical engineer who asked for his advice.

He warned him not to be so keen on his new ideas as to lose sight of the market. He also used old contacts to enable him to buy the second-hand machinery he needed at a very reasonable price.

Small wonder the demand for experienced advice of this kind is brisk! There are no national statistics but figures supplied by individual groups are impressive.

In Munich over 600 people have been advised in three years. In Hamburg over 1,400 people have been helped since the beginning of 1984. The Hanover group reports over 1,900 cases.

It was set up in December 1981 and was the group that prompted most of the others to provide a similar service.

Beginners are not alone in valuing their services. The banks are keen too and occasionally lend support.

"When every other new firm fails to survive its first five years it is the banks that did something about it," says Bernd Wrobel of the Cologne savings bank.

The senior citizens' advisory service makes their work easier by advising on criteria the banks use as yardsticks for approving initial loans. That is why the

Continued on page 9

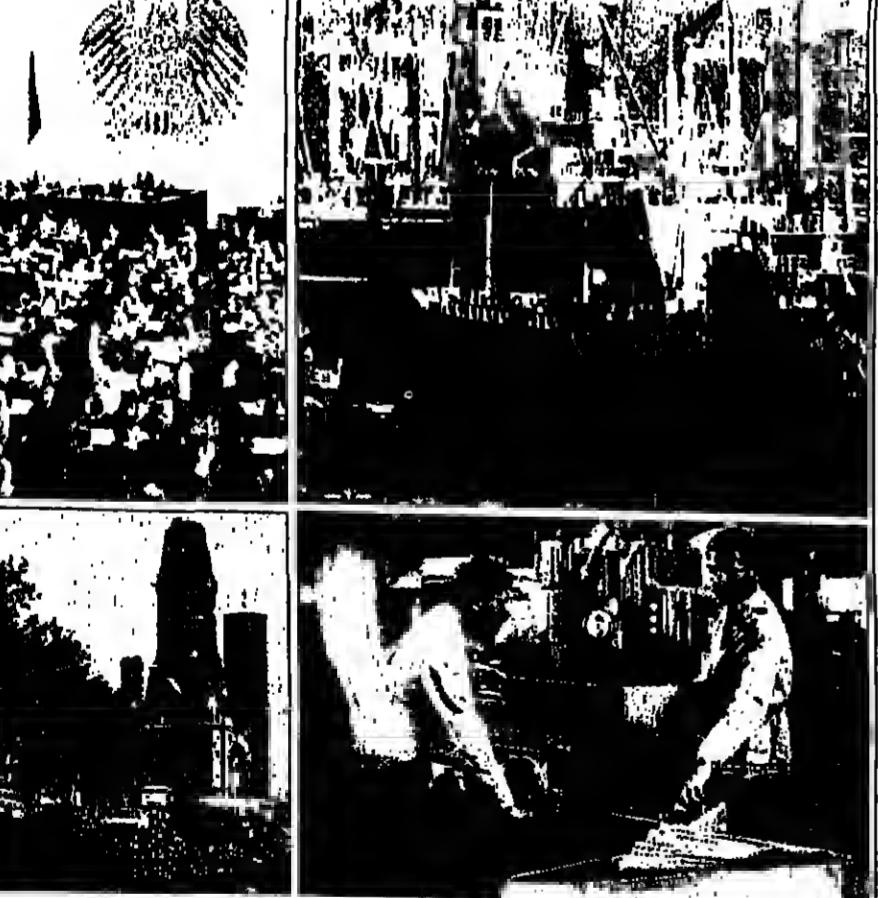
Their services certainly fill a gap and cater for need, says Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth.

There is such a wide range of assistance, financial and other, on offer by the Federal and Land governments, local authorities, chambers of commerce and industry and trade associations of

Help Young Businessmen.

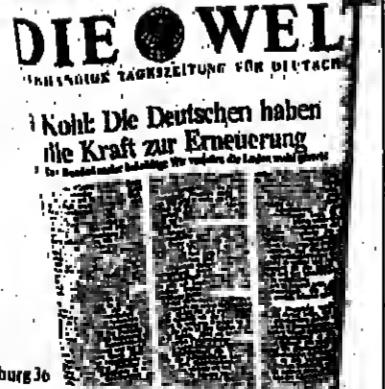
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■ SPACE RESEARCH

Bonn decides to take part in the French Hermès shuttle project

The Bonn government has decided to take part in the French Hermès space shuttle project. It is to contribute an initial 32 million marks, 30 per cent of the cost of the preparatory development stage.

Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber need have no fear of a shortage of would-be astronauts. More than 2,000 people, including over 20 per cent women, applied for the six vacancies advertised.

Little of the original programme has survived the Challenger catastrophe. Yet more and more countries are keen to go it alone in space research, and competition is growing tougher.

After last January's Challenger catastrophe, four abortive US rocket launches and similar setbacks for the European Ariane launcher rocket, Western space research is suffering from a Sputnik syndrome.

There must, he insisted, be no further commitments and no more costly projects for which the taxpayer was to foot the bill.

Hermès is expected to cost roughly DM 6.6bn in all, not including the cost of ground stations and modifications to the Ariane 5 launcher rocket needed on security grounds.

Germany would have to foot 30 per cent of the bill, otherwise it could not expect sufficient say in the project to ensure orders were placed with German aerospace firms, such as the construction of one of the two space shuttles envisaged by the French.

The first contracts have already been awarded — to French firms.

Foreign policymakers such as Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher have long advocated German participation in the French project. Chancellor Kohl is also said to have given an undertaking to this effect to President Mitterrand.

But the Research Ministry officials who prompted the Chancellor to give the President this undertaking were suspended by Herr Riesenhuber in June.

The Minister plans to submit thorough research findings to the Cabinet before deciding for or against Hermès.

The Franco-European space shuttle concept is based on 1960s technology. Hermès is to be launched in the nose of an Ariane rocket from Kourou in French Guiana.

What distinguishes Hermès, the messenger of the Gods, from American Apollo capsules is that Hermès is designed for reuse after a runway landing on returning from its mission.

Continued from page 8
municipal savings bank is one of the institutional backers of the Cologne group. It provides DM 100,000 a year in financial support, Herr Wrobel says.

Herr Riesenhuber will have been particularly upset by the news that despite the DM 1bn invested in Spacelab further experiments with new production techniques in zero gravity are now ruled out because flights have been scrapped.

That puts an end to any industrial incentive to take part in the Columbus programme.

So it is hardly surprising that Hermann Jordan, board chairman of the DFVLR Aerospace Research Establishment, says these consequences of

the Challenger disaster show how essential it is for Europe to go it alone in manned space research.

The Hermès space shuttle proposed by France is designed to put astronauts into low-altitude orbit. It was now, he said, an essential feature of European — and German — space research.

Yat Hermès has posed increasingly serious problems for Herr Riesenhuber ever since the French first aired the idea over two years ago.

Cash is part of the problem. In January 1985 Herr Riesenhuber persuaded Finance Minister Stoltenberg to agree to spend DM 5bn on two large-scale projects, Columbus and Ariane, provided there were no more major international ventures.

There must, he insisted, be no further commitments and no more costly projects for which the taxpayer was to foot the bill.

A second-stage rocket must will then take the German shuttle into outer space.

Both stages are designed to return and land on airport runways. Both would be manned and suitable for reuse.

So Herr Riesenhuber will have a variety of options to choose from for his Cabinet recommendations. But he must reconcile technical feasibility and foreign policy requirements and submit proposals on how to finance his recommendations.

Commitments already undertaken, including European collaboration on Ariane 5 and cooperation with the United States in the Columbus project, will cost roughly DM 1.6bn a year until 1992.

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Continued from page 8
why advice should be given free of charge.

The retired people say they don't provide any real service, just general advice and assistance.

When specific difficulties arise they invariably refer clients to specialists such as lawyers, accountants and other professional consultants.

Besides, most beginners aren't in a position to employ management consultants because they can't afford to pay their fees.

But Herr Küster sees no clear borderline between amateur and professional advice and says further consultations between the two groups are indispensable.

Marie-Luise Hoffmann (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 October 1986)

tion for the 1990s, then — perhaps simultaneously — check which of the European proposals for the 1990s Germany would do best to support.

But a preliminary decision is essential for the sake of German industrial interests, and the Minister will need to state his case to Esa, the European Space Agency, when it reviews the various proposals for the future of European manned space research later this month.

European hopes of better business for Ariane as a satellite launcher in the wake of the temporary US shutdown have proved largely wishful thinking.

After its own last launch bid failed Arlone, the European workhorse, is to resume launching next February, and even if all is plain sailing it will be 1989 before all orders already booked can be handled.

By then, says Raymond Orye, Esa's head of planning, US private firms will have new rocket systems ready.

Martin Maricetta has announced at the Farnborough air show that its first commercial launching of a Titan 3 is scheduled for spring 1989.

Even more competition seems likely in the 1990s, with a growing number of countries keen to muscle into the lucrative satellite launching business.

China has signed preliminary agreements with US firms to launch satellites on board its Long March rocket.

By the turn of the century China plans to take a space shuttle of its own into service.

Japan has successfully launched an H-1 rocket and hopes to have independent H-2 carrier systems of its own (independent of the United States, that is) by the 1990s.

India's PSLV polar space launch vehicle is planned to put independent terrestrial observation satellites weighing up to one tonne into polar orbit from 1989.

India also has plans for even larger rockets, while Brazil is working on a rocket of its own too.

Europe's decision to go ahead with Ariane and develop a more powerful version, the Ariane 5, by the mid-1990s seems to be well in keeping with the general trend.

Ariane 5 is planned to put payloads of up to four and a half tonnes into stationary orbit. The loss of the US space shuttle has redirected international attention to unmanned rockets.

After successful space missions by German astronauts Ulf Merbold in 1984 and Reinhold Furrer and Ernst Messerschmid in 1985 Bonn seems to have committed itself lock, stock and barrel to setting up an independent manned space research capability.

A DM 34m DFVLR space user centre has been opened at Porz, near Cologne, but there are no signs yet of keen interest and commitment on the part of German industry.

Despite financial incentives for home industry most of the 30 Spacelab experiments applications so far received have been from abroad, including Japan.

German industry seems to prefer to wait and see whether German astronauts stand any real chance of getting back into space.

Until then the taxpayer will have to foot the bill for Germany's space ventures.

Michael Birnbaum (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 October 1986)

■ BOOKS

Reflections on Hermann Hesse through collected letters

Hermann Hesse: *Collected Letters, Fourth Volume, 1949-1962*. Edited, in German, by Volker Michels. In collaboration with Helmut Hesse and Ursula Michels and published by Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 530 pages, DM 64.

A part from his letters, the 79-year-old Hermann Hesse wrote in 1956, he didn't seem to be getting any work done. Yet he remains one of the most widely-read modern German novelists.

An "unbroken stream" of letters had arrived at his home in Montagnola, Switzerland, since he won the 1946 Nobel prize for literature.

Hesse felt obliged to answer all correspondence personally.

The 466 letters written between 1949 and 1962 and included in the fourth volume of his *Gesamtausgabe Briefe* (Collected Letters) indicated when he penned a line of poetry or, even more infrequently, of poetic prose.

His narrative, private prints or round robins are best included in the subject heading correspondence (in the wider sense of the term).

The publishers and editors have chosen not to give us his complete letters — numbering at least 15,000. The four volumes of *Collected Letters* comprise 1,762 letters covering a period of 67 years. A fifth and final volume is planned.

With few exceptions the 432 letters in the collection authorised by Hesse and enlarged in 1962 are not included to avoid repetition.

The lack of a full-scale editorial commentary makes it even more difficult to evaluate the selection, although footnotes by the editor, Volker Michels, show him to have a comprehensive knowledge of Hesse's work.

Volumes of letters with individual correspondents, featuring both letters and replies, convey a clearer idea of perspective.

So, in particular, does Michels' *Politik des Gewissens* (Politics of the Conscience), 1977.

The volume here reviewed includes a most satisfactory 43-page small-print appendix dealing with 25 letters. More would have been more than welcome.

As always, Michels' postscript is most gratifying, especially his contribution toward Hesse's biography.

The late Hesse remained true to himself as a "politically unpolitical" person.

Whenever an attempt was made to commit him to a view or teaching he withdrew to his art, saying it was he who had to live with his contradictions.

Literature and the quest for word and truth, he noted in 1950, could assume the proportion of an illusion.

Yet Hesse was strongly critical of the arms trade and warned, as he had done in the First World War, against the hysteria of the Cold War.

The whole world, he wrote, must become the home of mankind. In comparison with dogmatism of all kinds reason wins, he felt, "one of the noblest gifts of God."

He interceded on Erika Mann's behalf when she sought in vain to have him in detail in one such connection he did not even see fit to write as much as a line in reply.

Committed though Hesse often was, he here shows unmistakable signs of the resignation of old age.

But the picture, clouds over. Letters

reflecting a momentary mood or aimed specifically at the recipient do not always attain the maturity of an essay.

I should like to correct one error here, if only because a commentary is only available elsewhere.

Hesse's bibliographer Martin Pfeifer, one of his correspondents, impressively noted in 1977 in the first volume of *Hermann Hesse's Weltweite Wirkung* (Hermann Hesse's Worldwide Effect) he edited for Suhrkamp how well Hesse had been received in East Germany in the early post-war period.

As early as in 1947 Wolfgang Joho, a member of the "old guard" of Communists persecuted by the Nazis, drew up a "general line" taking a positive view of Hesse as a bourgeois writer.

When his friend Thomas Mann planned to launch an appeal to the conscience of the world he feared the impotence of the intellectuals would become even more clearly apparent and what they say would stand for even less.

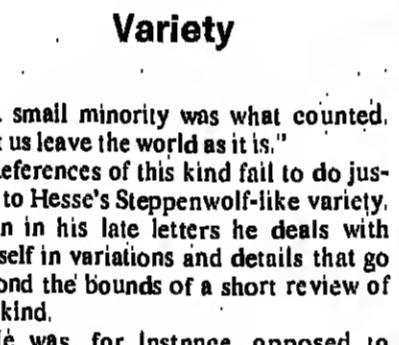
He refused to sign manifestos or petitions or to support demonstrations. Yet in the context of protest against nuclear tests he referred, in a letter to an Indian publisher, to Albert Schweitzer as his political friend. One wonders why.

He came to adopt an elitist attitude and was enthusiastic about social critics Gottfried Benn and Ernst Jünger, writers he had earlier viewed with detachment.

He no longer attached importance to the individual or to mankind, but merely to man as a possibility, as a path to the spirit.



Hermann Hesse... not always objective. (Photo: Archives)



Peter Handke... quick to same mood change. (Photo: Isolde Ohlbaum)

A small minority was what counted. "Let us leave the world as it is."

References of this kind fail to do justice to Hesse's Steppenwolf-like variety. Even in his late letters he deals with himself in variations and details that go beyond the bounds of a short review of this kind.

He was, for instance, opposed to clerical misgivings about his later poem *Jesus und die Armen* (Jesus and the Poor), saying his love and sympathy had always been with the poor and oppressed.

In his holiday resort, Sils Maria, he lamented that hotel guests living in the lap of luxury had no idea of how much they were to blame for the harsh reality they chose not to see.

Mention must be made of the many gifts of cash and kind he made to help the hungry, the needy, students.

He is critical about psychoanalysis, about German philosophy, about modernist trends in the arts.

We learn much about Far Eastern wisdom, which is a wide-range topic with Hesse. He sounds a worried note about the progressive destruction of the environment.

He calls his youth to mind and the pictures of nature he paints call to mind the finest of his writings.

What struck me most was what Hesse wrote to a teacher about the origins of his early story *Der Wolf*. Imagination and empathy, he wrote, were nothing but "forms of love".

That makes one sat aside many lines of thought when reflecting on Hermann Hesse.

Committed though Hesse often was, he here shows unmistakable signs of the resignation of old age.

But the picture, clouds over. Letters

A trendy turn towards the irrational

Peter Handke: *Die Wiederholung (The Repetition)*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1986, 334 pages, DM 34.

Peter Handke is undeniably a sensitive writer. He is quicker than others to sense changes of mood and movement in society.

He lets himself be carried away by them inwardly and invariably arrives at attitudes new and attuned to the times.

Yet even he can make mistakes. Handke's powers of rational self-control seem weaker by far than his sensitivity.

That was readily apparent in the late 1970s when he noticed how strong dissatisfaction with industrial society had grown.

Many people who were dissatisfied with a life governed by functional order longed, he felt, for harmony between ego and environment.

He took this longing into account in his books, painting pictures of peace and harmony.

He prefigured something that was to

■ THE CINEMA

Large doses of catastrophe where the apocalyptic meets the apoplectic



Three films, three different casts of mind and three worlds that collide with one another are the high points of this year's Mannheim Film Week.

Chantal Akerman's *Jeanne Dielman* deals with Edna Corinckx, who, after twenty years of compliant married life, suddenly stabs her unfaithful husband to death.

She lets himself be carried away by them inwardly and invariably arrives at attitudes new and attuned to the times.

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Akermann's film is similar in style and content, but highly individual and basically different. Leon Marr's film, however, shows a sudden deathly sense of emptiness, a moment of astonishment and pain that ends in catastrophe.

Sara Driver's *Sleepwalker* would never have made it to Mannheim without the help of her friend Jim Jarmusch, who shot this film in fascinating colour frames.

It is short and impressively poetic. It is a personal and restricted form, harking back to classical drama. The poetry and dramatic content; the music by Phil Klein and the frames that hover between the opulence of fairy-tales and the squalor of nightmares are all controlled.

The thematic and aesthetic high point of the Mannheim Film Week was screened on the second day, Chantal Akerman's first, *Briefe eines Töten*. The film was of startling relevance to the present and brilliant in form.

It was given the major prize from the city of Mannheim and the film critics' award.

It is a Chinese girl dies, Nicole's girlfriend loses her hair, the small son is kidnapped then they return to normal by the Hudson River at night.

Many people who were dissatisfied with a life governed by functional order longed, he felt, for harmony between ego and environment.

He took this longing into account in his books, painting pictures of peace and harmony.

He prefigured something that was to

reunite when it comes to allocating the orphans the right to a place in the individual bunkers. The orphans as human beings without parents have just as few rights as the old people.

Religious, moral and philosophical questions are asked and discussed here. The form of the film is involved. The tale is not narrated chronologically but by associations, yet it is not confused and cryptic. Among the other first films worth seeing was the Welsh production by Karl Francis, *Boy Soldier*, dealing with the brutal training methods employed in the British Army.

The Swiss contribution to Mannheim by Ueli Münch, *Die schwarze Perle* (The black pearl) was full of imagination and well-acted.

Then Scott Murray's Australian version of Raymond Radiguet's novel *Tenf in Leib* was much more satisfactory with its clear dramatic line and the convincing performance of the main actors than Mirella Bellocchio's mannered, exaggerated version of the same novel.

The Film Week, the 35th, was involved with the cinema, advertising the cinema, gaining new film fans and winning back those who had defected.

Its administrators and the city itself did much to stimulate interest in it.

At the main railway station passengers were greeted with an announcement

that they had arrived in the city where an international film festival was to take place.

The curious were attracted by posters, leaflets and a central information tent with daily, free previews of the films.

Every effort was made to draw attention to the Film Week and the cinema.

The Film Week programme in Mannheim's Capitol cinema, one of the most elegant in the country, opened with Robert Vernay's 1953 version of *The Count of Monte Cristo* with Jean Marais in the title role. This film from the East German archives had been re-worked.

There was considerable interest in film classics and international films that had been very successful. This all added up to a five per cent increase in the number of visitors to the Film Week over the previous year, and attendance in 1985 showed an enormous increase in interest.

Mannheim Film Week has a long tradition of showing documentaries. This year there were many films of the genre with important themes, tackled seriously and in factual detail. But many of them were too long and too diffuse.

This was true of the American contribution from Muria Florio and Victoria Mudd, *Broke Rainbow*, dealing with the forced resettlement of Indians. It was awarded an Oscar last year.

The same criticism is true of Johan van der Kauken's ironic, clever study *Love Dollars* dealing with the rich and the poor in four major cities of the world, Amsterdam, Geneva, New York and Hong Kong.

Peter Heller's documentary film about a 90-year-old man from Alsace, *Der Schneidt liest die Hütner gacken und alle Menschen dichten* (Pain makes the hens cackle and men reflect), was curious, short and funny.

Heiko R. Blum
(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 13 October 1986)

But he has to study the secret scrolls of his master. Although Gonzo is already betrothed he agrees to marry his master's daughter to get at the scrolls. This makes the former powerful samurai liable to blackmail.

Director Shinoda begins by following the old rules, unfolding the plot almost like a detective before he deals in a very stylised way with the theme of honour and power.

The adulterous Gonzo and the wife of his master eventually die in an act of barbaric violence.

Levy's love story successfully opened the Festival and a love story from America ended it.

Mala Noche, was filmed by Gus van Sant in Portland, Oregon. It tells the story of Walter, a young shopkeep, who conceives a passion for two Mexican vaqueros, Johnny and Pepper.

They have no job and no money. By accident they meet Walter who gives them money and tries to find them work.

But the Mexicans continue to regard Walter as just a homosexual, a faggot, a gay.

Then the story trails off to an ending. Walter goes back to work, Johnny is again on the streets. Only Pepper is no longer there. He is shot by the police in one of Portland's seedy streets.

Shinoda also deals with power and violence, but he is not superficial. He tries to say something profound about the relationship between the two.

Gonzo, the respected samurai, does not fight for land and castles. In times of peace he can achieve neither honour nor power through arms so he turns to the tea ceremony.

But this year there were no hits such as *Divorcié* or *Männer*.

Jürgen Malitz
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1986)

■ DER TAGESSPIEGEL

unwarranted. Hesse was certainly in the crossfire of suspicion.

His work was late to be published in the GDR, where it was, moreover, initially published without permission. But the delay was due to the East's shortage of foreign exchange.

As always, Michels' postscript is most gratifying, especially his contribution toward Hesse's biography.

The late Hesse remained true to himself as a "politically unpolitical" person.

Whenever an attempt was made to commit him to a view or teaching he withdrew to his art, saying it was he who had to live with his contradictions.

Literature and the quest for word and truth, he noted in 1950, could assume the proportion of an illusion.

Yet Hesse was strongly critical of the arms trade and warned, as he had done in the First World War, against the hysteria of the Cold War.

The whole world, he wrote, must become the home of mankind. In comparison with dogmatism of all kinds reason wins, he felt, "one of the noblest gifts of God."

He interceded on Erika Mann's behalf when she sought in vain to have a memorable protest against the post-war witch hunt published. Extracts from the article are here printed for the first time.

But the picture, clouds over. Letters

He was, for instance, opposed to clerical misgivings about his later poem *Jesus und die Armen* (Jesus and the Poor), saying his love and sympathy had always been with the poor and oppressed.

In his holiday resort, Sils Maria, he lamented that hotel guests living in the lap of luxury had no idea of how much they were to blame for the harsh reality they chose not to see.

Mention must be made of the many gifts of cash and kind he made to help the hungry, the needy, students.

He is critical about psychoanalysis, about German philosophy, about modernist trends in the arts.

We learn much about Far Eastern wisdom, which

■ HOMO SAPIENS

Why a species endowed with the asset of reason causes so much chaos

Man is a creature blessed with common sense, ethologist Berthold Hassenstein told the Hamburg congress on behavioural science. Yet sweet reason is hardly the hallmark of the traces he has left in the world.

Oppression, murder, terror and war are keynotes of human activity. What are the human motives that run riot against reason and humanity?

Outlining the latest research findings to fellow-ethologists in Hamburg, Hassenstein said fear was one trigger that put paid to common sense.

Fear as a mainspring of human activity originally had a beneficial effect, prompting man and animal to run away from their enemies, to seek refuge in sheltered places and to steer clear of places, situations and activities that had proved dangerous.

Fear in its most concentrated form, panic, puts paid to reasoned thought of any kind, mobilising every last ounce of physical strength and endurance instead.

In its natural habitat man at once on the run will thunder through thickets of thorns. In a zoo it will hurtle mindlessly into the fence, breaking its neck.

A herd of mountain goats will plunge head over heels into a ravine. Panic-stricken people will jump to their deaths from hotel windows when the building is on fire.

In nature fear and panic trigger reactions that are usually life-savers and seldom killers. In unnatural conditions they are almost invariably self-destructive.

Stopping to think could often prove a life-saver in such circumstances, but fear inhibits and panic incapacitates the ability to do so.

Some years ago Nobel laureate Hans Kesten Hartline discovered a behavioural principle that helps to account for this undeniable tendency.

The Hartline principle is that when two irreconcilable motives clash, the stronger usually prevails, sidelining the weaker of the two.

When fear and reason clash, reason stands down, sad to say, as Hassenstein explained.

"When reason took shape in man's biological make-up," he said, "the productive part of intelligence, the intellectual variation and search mechanism, seems to have borrowed its function from the play impulse."

"Unfortunately, 'the play' instinct comes low on the Hartline scale, especially in comparison with fear, and this disadvantage was retained." In other words, fear makes people stupid.

This behavioural mechanism also applies to the plenitude of thought. Why, for instance, are people blind to common sense in times of crisis? Because of the learning principle of experience-related inhibition.

If, for instance, a train of thought is followed by a sense of fear or feeling of anxiety, as triggered by shock, a reprimand, fear of going out on a limb from public opinion or of being put to disadvantage, inhibition is the result.

As soon as the thought recurs it triggers fresh fear and is suppressed.

Must man come to terms with this fear-related thought inhibition or is there a solution to the dilemma?

Twenty years ago ethology commit-

ted a cardinal sin that sidelined it socially, as it were. It stated that biological behaviour was not, in principle, liable to influence by learning or intelligence.

Hassenstein said these ethological teething troubles were over and explained why he and other ethologists no longer felt instinct overruled intelligence.

"Man's ability to go on hunger strike in pursuit of political or humanitarian aims shows that powerful motives from the intellectual sector can prevail over biological impulses such as hunger and self-preservation."

A panic situation can be contained intellectually. Divers, for instance, are taught to suppress panic when their breathing apparatus develops a defect.

The panic reaction is to rip off your breathing mask, which is tantamount to suicide. The only hope of rescue is to stop and think, to systematically review all possible sources of error and to remedy the defect.

In this situation this behaviour at least makes sense as being the most effective form of group defence.

In world affairs it is not only pointless but leads straight to the catastrophe of mass destruction. Yet the world is still governed, in East and West, in a manner inherited from the apes.

Is group hostility an innate human instinct or merely a reaction to real or im-

aginary outside influence? If it were latter, common sense would stand a chance of handling an untamed heritage.

There have been times, Hassenstein told the Hamburg congress, when killing and bestial brutality motivated group hostility have been taken to extreme.

The Nazi period was a case in point. Yet at other times they have occurred seldom if at all for decades on end.

"That is one of many pointers indicating that there is, fortunately, no aggressive instinct that spontaneously erupts from time to time and needs to find a outlet," Hassenstein says.

"Group aggression would seem to be purely reactive in nature." So one of counteracting it is by means of specifically human faculties such as speech.

People can be taught from an early age to develop a keen ear for the linguistic poison of building up hatred of foreigners, demagogic incitement to racial hatred and similar barbaric and pointless excesses.

Defamation as a mode of aggression, he argues, is so farcely capable of triggering behavioural responses from the depths of human nature that it can never be justified.

Sad to say, allowing oneself to be swept along by the intoxication of hawking masses is fun. It testifies to the animal element at work in man.

Yet that should be a warning to call on common sense to redress the balance before an unstoppable avalanche is set in motion.

Willi Dröscher
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 October 1986)

Link between science and politics debated

Scientists feel underrepresented in the debate on the acceptance of the findings of modern research and their consequences, says distinguished chemist Jan Thesing.

Professor Thesing, president of the German Chemical Association, made this point at the 114th general meeting of the German Scientific and Medical Research Association in Munich.

Professor Reimar Lüdt as chairman of the meeting, held in the Deutsches Museum, said the gathering's public debates had always concentrated on a special research topic.

He felt it was now time scientists paid more attention to issues posed by politics and public opinion.

Surprisingly, however, his remarks were followed by twin monologues and not what might have been expected to be a dialogue.

The relationship between science and politics, research and public life, was dealt with by both speakers. Both advocated strict segregation.

The first speaker was sociologist and Free Democrat Ralf Dahrendorf, a scientist and a politician.

He objected both to making politics out to be a science and to making science out to hold a political responsibility.

He felt it was wishful thinking for scientists to believe they could retain their innocence by refusing to put their knowledge to use.

He was convinced it was every scientist's duty to place his knowledge on offer "so that science can prove its usefulness." By the same token, doctors must put their knowledge to use or else be guilty of refusing to help the sick.

Science was applied whatever happened, regardless whether or not scientists wanted it to be put to use. Political decisions were reached on whether or not to make use of scientific findings.

He called on the public to show greater understanding for the scientific approach, that of harnessing all available and new-found knowledge in support of a hypothesis, thereby either disproving it, disproving it or improving it.

The public must learn to understand both the scientific method and the concept of scientific truth, which by definition could never be incontrovertible.

Professor Pinkau expected politicians to allow, research sufficient leeway to show genuine interest in using scientific truth as a basis for their own decisions.

Politicians, he said, must stop viewing scientists as "dray-horses of political prejudice."

Rosemarie Stein

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

(Frankfurt, 8 October 1986)

A meaningful relationship also pre-

vents common sense in relation to humanity?

One of its greatest adversaries is, as he sees it, the biological phenomenon of group hostility, an aggressive mass reaction that occurs when one group feels, rightly or wrongly, threatened by another.

Racial hatred and religious bigotry can be particularly inhuman, with uninhibited brutality toward the enemy, aggressive feeling that gathers momentum like an avalanche and uncritical solidarity with one's own group all characteristics of the phenomenon.

It can be studied in nature among a herd of baboons. When they join forces to fight an attacking leopard their hair stands on end and they feel elated with solidarity as young warrior apes lead a social counter-attack.

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Willi Dröscher
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 October 1986)

supposed that political debate required a level deserving of the name.

Science and politics must not be thoughtlessly intermingled, interrelated though they might be.

The state, for instance, underwrites scientific research (with no political strings whatever in the Federal Republic), he was happy to say, while scientific findings found their way into political processes.

Professor Dahrendorf was critical of what he called the "impenetrable fog of agreement" resulting from most German scientific research facilities being state-owned.

They are, for the most part, widely-used industrial chemicals of which high counts have been measured in river and, at times, even tap water.

All except one are halogenised hydrocarbons: hydrocarbons that have formed a chemical compound with one of the halogens, such as fluorine or chlorine.

Little is known about how hazardous these substances are, especially the long-term hazard of relatively low doses.

They could only hope to bridge this divide if scientists first learnt to communicate with each other on an interdisciplinary basis and then learnt how to restore public confidence and to outline scientific findings in generally understandable terms.

Tension between scientists on the one hand and politics and the general public on the other was due to speechlessness between them, Professor Pinkau said.

They must learn to understand both the scientific method and the concept of scientific truth, which by definition could never be incontrovertible.

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Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

(Frankfurt, 8 October 1986)

A meaningful relationship also pre-

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Warning about chemicals in ground water

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

levels at which 95 per cent of fish and minute organisms in the water are unaffected.

The German EPA feels lower levels are advisable — levels at which there is no damage whatever to living organisms.

The international working party of Rhine catchment area water authorities would sooner see no toxic substances at all in water from which drinking water is taken.

The EPA report states that toxin levels in surface water are generally not high enough to do any harm.

But this only applies to substances of which the longer-term effects are known. And there are exceptions too.

Dichloromethane, for instance, is used as a corrosive, degreasing agent and detergent. Dichloromethane counts measured in the Rhine ranged from 5 to 171, in the Main from 25 to 600 micrograms per litre.

The Federal Health Office recommends a safety level of 25 micrograms per litre of drinking and ground water, including the count in respect of three other, related substances.

About 1,000 tonnes of chlorinated hydrocarbons a year flow into the North Sea via rivers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Surface water pollution is only part of the problem; ground water is also threatened.

The Health Office water, soil and atmospheric hygiene research unit says there are between 30,000 and 50,000 disused garbage tips in the Federal Republic.

The chemical industry would be virtually brought to a standstill if it were no longer to use hydrocarbons.

Harmful substances may well be seeping from up to 2,000 of them into the water table, which supplies 70 per cent of German drinking water.

There were surprises in Berlin when an area was investigated for use in testing a new method of measuring the pollution level of seepage water.

There were five known garbage tips in the area, but probes revealed the existence of further 14 that had been forgotten and the existence of three more is suspected.

A spring has yet to be found that feeds hydrocarbon impurities into the ground water, but water polluted by disused household garbage dumps was no longer fit for use as drinking water.

The European Community-recommended safety level for ammonium was found to be exceeded 52-fold and the recommended safety level for chemical oxygen requirement was exceeded 25-fold.

So there is no agreement on uniform safety levels either. The US Environmental Protection Agency's ceilings are

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findings have shown the opposite to be true.

The first rainfall flushes a layer of highly toxic dust and dirt into the drains that gather for dry days or weeks on roofs and roads.

It is a treacherous cocktail consisting of oil, soot, tar, tyre rubbings and heavy metals, with an admixture of cadmium, lead and carcinogenic benzene.

Rainwater retention reservoirs need building, gigantic concrete tubs to hold back the first cloudburst and pipe it gradually to the sewage works for processing.

Retention reservoirs for Hamburg, population 1.6m, alone would cost DM1bn.

But piecemeal repairs are far from inexpensive.

Rolf Bielecki of the Hamburg public works department says repairs to main drains cost roughly DM3,000 per metre.

Assuming a quarter of the 25,000km German sewerage system is in need of renewal, the repair bill would cost DM190bn, or over half the Federal budget.

Cardboard pipes

This sum doesn't even include the cost of repairs to domestic drains that lie up with the municipal system.

They are suspected by the EPA to be the source of most leakage.

They total 600,000km and have never undergone routine checks.

Housing regulations have been so simplified that none at all apply to domestic drains any more.

"They could just as well install drains made of cardboard," says an EPA official. "They aren't checked in any case."

In

Zürich the entire city-centre sewerage network has been demolished and replaced.

"We really must take more energetic action," says Hamburg's Bielecki.

"If need be we will simply have to increase the water rates."

But that is an unpopular move politicians would sooner wash their hands of.

Bernhard Borgeist

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf,

■ FRONTIERS

Shoes from all, from homo erectus to Boris Becker

Richard Fenchel doesn't look at people's faces. He looks at their feet—or rather, what they wear on their feet.

He is interested in all types of shoe, the elegant, the clumsy, the trendy, the sporty and the comfortable. He is a retired shoemaker, but not only that: he is also a recorder of the shoes of history.

He has what is believed to be the most comprehensive shoe museum in the world. In about 250 showcases, he displays miniatures (scale: one to three).

The retired master shoemaker from Butzbach, in Hesse, has followed in a family tradition. Since the 17th century,

Au pair girls — not boys

The traditional au pair girl is now under challenge by the au pair boy. The challenge at the moment is a week one because old habits die hard and people still prefer girls.

In the past 12 months, one agency reports that there were 4,000 male applications for au pair positions but only 80 families willing to take them.

One of the lucky ones is Edmundo, a 23-year-old from Brazil. He was placed with a family through the agency in Munich. He looks after a nine-year-old girl and does all what is usually regarded as women's work in return for 300 marks a month plus food and keep.

A pair girls both from Germany and foreign countries receive a small amount of money which gets around the work permit regulations. Foreign girls get the opportunity to get a residence permit for a year and learn the language.

The agency reports that over the past two years, there have been increasing numbers of male applicants. The first male applicant was an American, six years ago.

Ulla Pokutto, head of the agency, says she is surprised that most of the male applicants come from countries where males have a traditional macho image—Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia and South American countries.

The youths want to spend a year in Germany. But the order is tall. Germans, it seems, in this regard are just like the British, the French and the Americans—they prefer girls.

Christa von Bernuth
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 30 September 1986)

Ground water

Continued from page 13

pointer to the extent of organic pollution. Both reports, the EPA and the Health Office findings, reach comparable conclusions. Both rule out any acute health hazard.

The substances 'monitored' found their way into the body via water and food intake in traces below the recommended tolerance levels.

But the EPA feels long-term checks are important, being needed to ensure water quality.

A further factor is that some hydrocarbons are felt to cause cancer. In their case it would clearly be best if they were found not to occur at all in the environment.

Dieter Schwab
(Nürberger Nachrichten, 9 October 1986)

Frankfurter Rundschau

seven generations of Fenchel have made and repaired shoes.

Richard showed a curiosity about shoes of the past from an early age. Fifty years ago, as a 22-year-old, he decided to show the world what sort of shoes used to be worn. So he started collecting. Now he has given over three rooms of his detached house to his collection of miniatures. The collection can only be seen by appointment.

The 50th anniversary of the birth of the idea also coincides with the 50th anniversary of his marriage: his first pair of miniatures were costume shoes especially for his girlfriend, Emily. They were married shortly afterwards, not entirely because of the shoes.

The museum has existed in its present form for 10 years, ever since he arrived in Butzbach from Münzenberg-Gambach, also in Hesse. His exhibits have been shown in the fashion centres of Europe, Paris, Berna, Basla, Helsinki.

The collection includes an amazing diversity: footwear from the early upright-walking man to the glistening, pop-new-wave look of the 1980s from all continents. The work involved is painstaking.

There are rawhide shoes of early man; old Greek and Roman shoes; aristocratic shoes worn by the pharaohs; shoes from the Chinese dynasties; the shoes of Charlemagne, King of the Franks; the shaggy fur boots of czarinas; white gaiters of Frederick the Great.

Michael Emmrich
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 September 1986)

Continued from page 10
on the other side of the border, Handke has his hero recollect.

He recalls his life at high school in Klagenfurt, where he was always an outsider, events in the village, where he failed to gain acceptance, and life in the family, where one member paid scant attention to the individuality of the other.

The classical intonation with which Handke seeks to make his events sound an exemplary note is irksome at times but these recollections of childhood and youth are still striking. They have a bearing on reality.

We are shown the development of a man who has never experienced a sense of identity and security with his environment. Since childhood he clearly seems to have been afraid of other people's affection and to have withdrawn into his ego.

This narcissistic withdrawal, into loneliness, he realises as he thinks it all over in the station waiting room in Jesenice, has something to do with his relationship with his mother.

She always treated him with loving but disparaging pity.

Not until the second part of the novel does Handke come to realise what life is—thanks to nature. He spends some time in a remote valley with a joke surrounded by mountains.

He spends his time walking round the valley and finally wonders: "Has truly being alive not always been being able to breathe with the flowing water, the swaying grass and the rising branch of a tree?"

The descriptions of this life Handke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 September 1986)

Yet proximity to nature, although conjured with such high-flying words, is something the narrator fails to put across.

Instead of submerging himself into the objects he always just fleetingly outlines the contours of a landscape and promptly switches to convoluted observations.

Repetition, he decides, is the essence. He sets himself the task of telling what people constantly get up to, what is constantly repeated.

To use a formula taken from a Handke essay, Filip wants to help to "naturalise" "myth" in modern culture.

That, Handke feels, is how a writer can succeed in painting pictures of collective identification. So he seeks to help eliminate the alienation and isolation that are the hallmarks of modern industrial society.

That is an exaggerated ambition to which literature today can hardly do justice. Yet Handke deludes his readers (and doubtless himself) with bombastic verbiage such as: "Narration, music of participation", give us grace and consolation.

All in all, Handke's latest novel is not very appealing in its narrative because the narrative is overladen with interpretation.

This interpretation is, moreover, not an attempt to arrive at a rational realisation but a message expressed in pretentious terminology.

Yet his regulation of realistic narration and his turn toward the irrational are very much in keeping with the times.

Joachim Campf

(Nürberger Nachrichten, 11 October 1986)

A machine that measures human emotions

An apparatus that measures feelings in people has been developed by university lecturer, Wolfgang Vehrt in conjunction with Bayreuth University's electronics department.

The machine was unveiled at the 35th congress of the German Society for Psychology in Heidelberg and put through its paces.

It is hoped that the machine will be used in basic psychological research, applied psychology and study of the system. It has cost 100,000 marks to develop over 13 years from 1973.

Electrodes, fixed to fingers, chest and stomach measure changes in pulse rates, breathing and how the skin is affected. Study subjects also take hold of the Vehrt Stick, named after its inventor, which registers reactions in given situations.

At Heidelberg, for example, guinea pigs were tested for their reactions to the music of Wagner, played to them over headphones.

Vehrt said, for example, the apparatus could be used to investigate how people react to media influences. What effect posters have, video films, advertisements and the like.

"When my five-year-old son was admitted to kindergarten I wanted to go back to work part-time," she said. She had trained as a doctor's assistant but she could not find such a job in Bad Nauheim nor in the surroundings.

Quite by chance she heard of *Frauenbetriebe* and decided to apply for the course.

Anita Auls, also with a family, had no luck in finding a job as a secretary.

Lu Haas and Gudrun Krieger who run *Frauenbetriebe* gained their experience at an adult education centre. They realised that there was no point in constantly telling unemployed women that they were in a sorry situation.

They decided to take a positive line and developed ideas and formulated a guide on the qualifications a woman needs to go self-employed.

Frauenbetriebe provides information essential for a woman setting out to earn her livelihood self-employed and what being self-employed involves.

She has been trained in baking. Before she took over the family business in 1957 she was apprenticed to a baker in Lehre.

At first she baked only bread rolls. By the end of the 1950s the company she headed had a turnover of DM10m.

Her breakthrough came in the early 1970s when turnover was increased fivefold.

She puts great store on healthy kinds of bread; wholemeal bread, barley loaves, wholemeal toast bread, and unbaked wholemeal bread rolls that only have to be heated up.

She has made her way in the world by experiencing at first hand the drudgery of the bakery business. In her firm she is boss and colleague at the same time. She speaks the language of those who work in her company.

How did she come to be elected "Business Woman of the Year"? In this country the honour is handed out by a jury, assembled by the champagne house of Veuve Clicquot.

Peter J. Ziegler, managing partner in Veuve Clicquot Import GmbH of Wiesbaden said: "We want to show our respect for a woman who has made her way in business."

Lu Haas said: "There are some who

■ HORIZONS

Helping women get back to work after raising a family

RENATE WEGNER-KOCH and Barbara Dresler are the first of the course of 24 who are now running a living on their own.

Renate Wegner-Koch, her friend and a chiropodist are the first of the course of 24 who are now running a living on their own.

The others are in the preparatory stages for being self-employed.

Twelve women have got together and plan to start a large business centre with a textile plant, a stationery shop, a centre for mothers, a cafe, a bookshop and a goldsmith's all under one roof.

Once women on courses have gone out to make their own livelihoods *Frauenbetriebe* is still available for advice after the women have set out on their own. There are weekend seminars dealing with businesses, projects and associations for women.

The second course has now begun. There were many applications for admission to it.

Lu Haas believes that the qualifications guide is suitable for other groups of unemployed, for instance for young people who are without a job, "but prepared to learn, take risks, take on the responsibilities of debts to be able to create their own jobs, instead of drawing unemployment benefit. They should be given official support."

Barbara Dresler
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 October 1986)

from top management positions in Germany on the jury. The women are Ute Dumitrescu, editor-in-chief of the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan* and chairman of the business women's association, and Dr Anne-Rose Iber-Schulze.

Claus Hipp was spokesman for the jury. With the "Business Woman of the Year" award in mind he said: "It is obvious that these women are not interested in emancipation. They are not chosen because they are good-looking and charming. They are elected because of their naturalness as women when passing on problems to men because they know that men can come up with better solutions."

Claus Hipp said that all experience showed that women take care that "valuable capital assets are not wasted through personnel problems."

Marlis Blohm-Harry is self-confident enough to look at herself critically. She said: "If I make a mistake I am answerable for it myself."

Asked what was the secret of her success she said: "Have a general view, set targets, coordinate and know where you're going."

She claims that she gets the strength to do her hectic, responsible job from "a harmonious family life."

On holidays she goes sailing. She knows all about the churches and the cuisines of the countries of the Mediterranean. She is very fond of music, particularly Bach.

She was given her "Business Woman of the Year" award in the Egyptology Museum in Munich.

In ancient Egypt women had the same legal rights as men. They were entitled to half of the property in marriage and they could take on employment outside the home, for instance as priestesses.

Women servants were responsible for baking the bread. Bakers in ancient Egypt were women. Marlis Blohm-Harry smiled when she learned this.

Ingeborg Toth
(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 27 September 1986)



Richard Fenchel ... into his atelier.

(Photo: Weikamp)

contracts and financing, if you have not analysed carefully the situation on the spot and gained some practical experience."

It goes without saying that *Frauenbetriebe* offers women the opportunity to try out theory in practice. The organisation has a small training operation, a cafe. Here the women have to do everything themselves, from planning, company organisation and calculations to book-keeping.

Apart from theoretical training the women are shown how to conduct buying and selling negotiations and how to make a company work.

In the last phases of the course the women are encouraged to develop their own business ideas and plans.

Every planning step, every calculation, has to be put to paper, whether it concerns raising capital or calculating sales. Those notes could be the basics for going to the bank for finance.

But before the women can open their own businesses there is still quite a lot to be done. Supply contracts have to be concluded, trade fairs visited, prices compared and trade literature consulted, and an eye has to be kept on the competition. Renate Wegner-Koch

Award shows that there's dough in baking



Marlis Blohm-Harry ... wholemeal.

(Photo: dpa)

The champagne house has a woman to thank for its international reputation. In 1805 Nicole Clicquot, widowed at 27, took over the management of her husband's champagne cellars.

Eventually, she became one of the most famous champagne cellar owners of the time, when it was unheard of for a woman to be running a business. It is still rare to find women in senior positions in business. Women make up only two per cent of managers in this country.

Business abilities, a talent for management, a readiness to take risks and creativity are all regarded as male virtues. The "Business Woman of the Year" award shows that women can also have these gifts.

There are two women and nine men